AN UNRECORDED PETROGLYPH SITE IN BELMONT COUNTY, OHIO

Figure 1. (Murphy, DaRe, Davenport & Keringer) The Barton Petroglyph Site at Low Water, Looking Northeast. The large tree lying on top of the rock has since been washed away by flooding.

Figure 2. (Murphy, DaRe, Davenport & Keringer) Keringer, McDonald, and Murphy on the West End of the Barton Petroglyph Rock. Note carved panel at upper right and bird petroglyph at lower right, two "thunderbirds" at extreme left.

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Abstract

Continued rapprochement on the part of author DaRe and local avocational archaeologists in eastern Ohio has resulted in the documentation of a remarkable group of prehistoric rock carvings near Barton, Richland Township, Belmont Co., Ohio. Located on a large block of sandstone in Wheeling Creek, ca. 8 km from the confluence of Wheeling Creek with the Ohio River, the Barton Rock petroglyphs are unusual in their location and other respects, not readily fitting into either of the categories defined by Weeks (2002). While some of the two dozen designs can be readily interpreted as turtle, snake, and "thunderbird," others remain more problematic and ambiguous, as do any interpretations regarding their origin and function.

Introduction

Through the efforts of DaRe's Share Program (DaRe 2002), a remarkable, previously unrecorded petroglyph site in Belmont Co., Ohio, is here documented. The senior author was conducted to the site by Keringer and Davenport, who helped in examining and documenting the rock carvings. Keringer has known of the site for many years. Davenport has made numerous trips back to the site to confirm information and record additional data.

Location

The Barton Rock petroglyphs are located on a large sandstone boulder in the middle of Wheeling Creek, in the downstream portion of a narrow stream meander, approximately 0.7 mile downstream from the town of Barton, in north-central Section 23, Richland Township, Belmont Co., Ohio (Figs. 1, 2). The southern and eastern bank of Wheeling Creek at this point is a steep hillside rising more than 400 feet to a north-south trending ridgetop separating Wheeling Creek from the waters of a tributary of Flat Run to the east. A low erosional ledge along the southern bank does not appear to provide sufficient protection for prehistoric occupation but has not been archaeologically tested. The bedrock consists of shale and sandstone in the uppermost portion of the Conemaugh Group and is referable to the Connellsville sandstone member (Berryhill 1963: 14).

The northern bank of Wheeling Creek at this point is broad, level alluvial plain covered with Chagrin silt loam and on the higher portions, Chili gravelly loam. It should be noted that formerly the highway ran directly along the northern

and eastern bank of Wheeling Creek, following the inner edge of the meander located here, as shown on the 15' U.S. G. S. St. Clairsville quadrangle.

Description

The sandstone boulder on which the Barton petroglyphs, are carved measures approximately 8 by 5.3 meters. It can be reached only by wading from the creek bank (or by boat or canoe given sufficient water depth). Barton Rock is evidently a float block of native sandstone derived from the nearby cliffs, but precise provenience cannot be determined, nor can it be certain how long ago it reached its present location. Two smaller fragments clearly have been broken from this rock at some point in the past but do not bear any petroglyphs. It is believed that the petroglyphs were carved at this location in midstream, not on bedrock while it was still in place. Evidence of considerable wear from stream action is found on both the upstream and downstream sides of the rock, though naturally it is much more pronounced on the upstream side, on which only one rock carving has been discovered (Design 29). It is possible that others have been completely obliterated or, more likely, that the prehistoric artisans favored the downstream side because their designs would last longer there.

While we are well aware of arguments against using chalk to enhance rock carvings (e.g., Sanger and Meighan 1990) attempts to photograph the carvings without chalking proved ineffectual. Preservation issues aside, chalk highlighting leads to a certain amount of subjective interpretation in the designs, but such subjectivity in interpretation is inevitable and we have presented the carvings as accurately and objectively as we can.

At least 29 different carvings occur on Barton Rock, all but one of which is believed to be prehistoric, probably Late Prehistoric. A diagram showing the relative locations of the designs has been made by Davenport (Fig. 3). Collectively, the designs displayed at the Barton Rock petroglyph site are notable for the complete absence of human footprints, as well as the absence of cuspidiform bird tracks or arrows. Two human hand prints occur. Elements indicating sex or gender are lacking throughout. Drawings of animals include turtles, snakes, and various birds but no fish and do not incorporate human elements, perhaps suggesting a lack of shamanism in their function or intent. Several appear to be classic "xray" drawings. Two, possibly three, small human stick figures occur and these, by analogy, may contain shamanistic elements. No significant orientation or relationship between designs is discernible, although a possible exception to this lack of relationship between elements is the contiguity of turtle and thunderbird in two instances.

Individual Designs

Designs 1 and 22-26 are located along the northwest edge of the rock and may represent a deliberate grouping on the sloping rock panel. They are shown in Figures 4 and 5, which also illustrate some differences in interpretation, Figure 5 being considered the more accurate. Three crude thunderbirds are represented, two of which are clearly associated with turtle carvings. A human left hand design also occurs, and on a somewhat lower flat surface, another turtle. Design 1 represents two thunderbirds both with wingspan of ca. 10.5 inches. Immediately below one of these is a crude but distinct turtle ca. 5 inches in diameter (Design 24). Design 23 is a third thunderbird, perhaps the most distinctive due to the presence of a fanshaped tail, with a wingspan of ca. 6-7 inches. Immediately below it is a turtle effigy, ca. 6 inches in greatest diameter. The co-occurrence of thunderbird and turtle is especially interesting because this association has been noted elsewhere, perhaps most dramatically at the Gottschall Rockshelter in Wisconsin (Salzer and Rajnovich 2001). The two design types occur at other Ohio Valley rock art sites, notably Babb's Island, Smith's Ferry, Saxon, and possibly Brown's Island (Swauger 1974, 1984). Unfortunately, the relative placement of the designs at any of these sites has not been recorded, so it is not known whether they occurred in close proximity to one another. Design 25 is a human hand, presumably a left hand, just under 5 inches wide (Fig. 4, 5). A third, isolated turtle (Design 26) ca. 7 inches in diameter lies somewhat lower on a flat, exposed bedding plane (Figs. 5, 6).

Designs 2-20 extend across a sloping to nearly vertical parietal panel but do not necessarily represent a single grouping. Designs 2-6 are shown in Figure 7. Design 2 can merely be described as dumbbell-shaped, ca. 8 inches long. Design 3 is a spiral interpreted as representing a coiled snake, slightly over 8 inches in diameter. Design 4 is somewhat humanoid and stylistically related to Design 8, 11-13, and 19 and 20 to the far south edge of the rock. Of particular interest is the tripartite head, which resembles some Peterborough pointed head "shaman figures," if not Vastokas and Vastokas' (1973: 67, fig. 11) figures "with conical headdress." Also of potential significance are the three to six "dots" associated with the design; although their significance remains uncertain, similar cupules are sometimes interpreted as representing "medicine" or "power." Note that the bottom two cupules may be connected to form a dumbbell-shaped element similar to Design 2.

Design 6 is the most elaborate of the thunderbird designs, with distinctive horizontal lines emphasizing or decorating the triangular tail. It may represent an x-ray motif, although comparison of Figures 8 and 9, which illustrate subjective differences in interpretation, suggests that the small pendant circle may be due to spalling of the sandstone. Some rock art experts of course might theorize that the design was deliberately carved at this spot in order to incorporate the circular spalling. This thunderbird has a wing span of nearly 24 inches. Design 5, an unusual form to the upper left of this thunderbird is reminiscent of a spider but appears to have only four legs (Fig. 7, 8, 9). It could also be interpreted as a partial human figure oriented in the opposite direction, with horizontal lines filling the head.

Designs 7 and 9 may represent snakes, while Design 8 could be described as humanoid, although it is very abstract (Fig. 8). It bears some resemblance to Design 4, particularly if inverted, but is even closer to Design 1, which has been interpreted as a somewhat abstract "thunderbird." Design 8 is also one of the more obscure of the designs present, so our interpretation should be accepted with due caution. Design 10 is clearly an x-ray drawing of a quadruped, but identification cannot be more precise (Figure 10). The spiral line emanating from its back very likely is a "spirit line." Above this figure is a congeries of incised lines that defy interpretation or even simple description. Some petroglyph scholars would undoubtedly make much out of the fact that this creature appears to rise out of a small, ephemeral puddle of water, but we think this is fortuitous, as is the similar case of a turtle (Design 26) being adjacent to several small water-filled depressions (Figure 6).

Designs 11 - 13 form a somewhat isolated group on a small panel and include a human stick figure with outstretched hands, an abstract design, and an animal, possibly a dog or even a horse (Fig. 11). Stylistically simple and of a piece, these three carvings are also related spatially and could conceivably represent sympathetic hunting magic, although the central design is too stylized for interpretation. The human figure with one hand outstretched and the other turned down is reminiscent of "shaman figures with pointed heads" illustrated from Peterborough (Vastokas and Vastokas 1973: fig. 12a, b). Rajnovich (1994: 75-81) gives some consideration to possible interpretations of the upturned/downturned arm, but the Barton Rock carving remains ambiguous. Using Keyser and Whitley's (2006) criteria distinguishing sympathetic hunting magic, it seems more likely that this Barton panel is the result of a vision quest to obtain hunting power in general rather than an example of an attempt to affect the outcome of a specific hunt.

Designs 14-18 form a complicated grouping that clearly includes two bird figures, a human stick figure, and a prob-

able turtle (Design 17), although it was originally interpreted as a paw print. Design 15 appears to be an x-ray drawing. Other elements in this group are too abstract or incomplete to permit interpretation (Figure 12).

Designs 19 and 20 (Figure 13) are isolated and stylistically similar but so amorphous as to defy interpretation. The larger is about 8.5 inches high. They do resemble designs recorded by Vastokas and Vastokas (1973: fig. 14a, b) as "shaman figures with enlarged abdomen." Those authors suggest three tenuous interpretations: pregnant woman, hunter with full stomach (i.e., a successful hunt), and a *Jessakkid* shaman (Ibid.: 69). Without committing ourselves to any of these interpretations, it is worth noting, as Vastokas and Vastokas observe, the Algonkian *Jessakkids* were under the protection of the Turtle and Thunderbird manitous ([bid.: 52); at Barton Rock, two of these unusual stick figures (Designs 4 and 8) do occur adjacent to a thunderbird carving.

Design 21 is an isolated bird design located at the very edge of the Barton Rock, on the downstream side (Fig 14). It is ca. 12 inches high. The head and tail are demarcated from the body by diagonal lines, and the body includes a circular "x-ray" drawing. This is the largest and one of the more realistic bird carvings, but whether turkey, crow/raven, vulture, or hawk is impossible to infer. The diagonal lines are interpreted as spirit bands. This carving is of interest in that it clearly must have been carved while the artist was either in the water or, more unlikely, in a canoe.

All of the above designs are carved on the downstream side of the Barton Rock. On the relatively narrow apex of the rock there is only one clear carving, Design 27, a spiral believed to represent a coiled snake, about 6.5 inches in diameter and quite similar to Design 3 (Fig. 15).

On a flat area along the top of the rock at the northeastern corner is a Historic carving of a "fort" complete with flag and cannon. Rather sharply incised rather than pecked, this is probably Euro-American (Fig. 16). One cannot help but call attention, however, to the similarity between it and a carving on the Leech Lake *Mide* medicine stick illustrated by Hoffman (1891: Pl. XXI). His drawings are reproduced here as Figure 17. Hoffman uses this artifact as an example of a Midewiwin medicine stick incorporating designs of European origin, specifically the diamond, heart, club and spade motifs. (By some lights it would be quite logical to interpret the Leech Lake medicine stick as the record of a shamanistic foretelling of the rise of casino gambling among the Ojibwa.) Noting that the thunderbird, snake, turtle, human hand, bird, and fort or house and flag (though not the playing card) motifs all occur at Barton Rock, one so inclined could argue that the carving was performed by a Mide "priest." We are more inclined to accept this as a coincidental indication of the ubiquity of simple designs and agree with Hoffman's conclusion that while "The pictographic delineation of ideas is found to exist chiefly among the shamans, hunters, and travelers of the Ojibwa... there does not appear to be a recognized system by which the work of any one person is fully intelligible to another" (Hoffman 1891: 287).

Whether carved by Historic Indian, Euro-American frontiersman, or local farmboy, it is doubtful that this petroglyph (Fig. 28) represents a specific fort. The nearest substantial fort that would have had cannon was at Wheeling, but it did not have cannon on wheeled carriages, merely a swivel cannon. It is interesting to note the tradition that Indians attacking Fort Henry at Wheeling tried making a log cannon, which exploded when they tried to fire it (Newton 1879: 126). A weak argument against Design 28 being Euro-American is the absence of any carved names or dates associated with it or, for that matter, any place on Barton Rock. The same negative argument would apply to its being carved by local children, although preliterate children might assay carving a fort and cannon and it should be noted that a farmhouse once stood only a short distance downstream, on the right bank of Wheeling Creek. Also, the highway once followed the inside curve of the Wheeling Creek meander, thus passing right by Barton Rock, rather than following the highway's present course across the meander. Clearly, the rather remote nature of the Barton Rock today was not always the case in Historic times. Were it not for the cannon, one might readily compare the design to the Wisconsin Indian house and medicine pole illustrated by Rajnovich (1994: 25), a striking example of how easily rock art can be interpreted to suit one's predilection.

The only rock carving visible on the upstream side of Barton Rock is interpreted as a human right hand (Design 29, Fig. 18). Initial study of the upstream side of Barton Rock failed to reveal any rock carvings and it was believed that if any had ever existed they were removed by the heavier degree of erosion caused by the current and debris in Wheeling Creek. Design 29 was discovered, however by Heidi Magnone on a visit to the site with her father, Gary Davenport. The unusual feature associated with this design is the presence of two cupules at the ends of index and middle fingers. (Although not indicated in the chalked photograph, it is believed that similar cupules are associated with the other hand carving, Design 25, and we have inadvertently connected them with the finger tips, producing rather elongated fingers.) In an interesting parallel, Burkett and Kaufman (2005: Fig. 19) illustrate a recently excavated Parkers Landing hand carving with four cupules at the fingertips. DiazGranados and Duncan (2000: 94, 165) illustrate without comment a right hand design with cupules in front of the index finger and next to the thumb. The Barton Rock design remains enigmatic but cannot be considered unique.

Discussion

Weeks, citing native Ojibway oral tradition, concludes that the rock art of the upper Ohio Valley represents "teaching rocks" used and presumably carved by Algonkian (he uses the term "Anishinaubae") teachers or "Elders," and marks "places of higher learning about ancestral knowledge and wisdom," including "the people's history in deeds, visions, songs, prophecies, and stories" (Weeks 2002: 86). He does not, however, actually utilize informed (emic) methods of studying the petroglyphs; instead, he analyzes the Ohio Valley rock art documented by Swauger (1974) in terms of physical parameters such as line width and size of the design, as well as "contextual" features such as geomorphologic setting. Weeks, placing great emphasis upon the physical visibility of individual petroglyphs, concludes that these rock carvings were not boundary markers (contra George) but "teaching rocks" characterized by deliberately low contextual and physical visibility which made the sites difficult to find (whereas boundary markers would entail high visibility because the makers would want the markers to be seen).

Despite his overt emphasis upon scientific measurement, Weeks' arguments are highly subjective, very selective, and based upon a number of dubious assumptions, including the assumption that the rock-carvings must have been either boundary markers or teaching rocks. Alternate interpretations, such as individual carvings representing signatures — totemic, tribal, or otherwise — or being the result of individual vision quests by shamans or non-shamans, are not explored. Because of its location Barton Rock would serve admirably as a place for an individual's vision quest: while not inconspicuous in the landscape, it is sufficiently remote and isolated by the creek waters to provide privacy. Logistically, it is much easier to imagine an individual engaging in a vision quest at this site than it is to picture an "Elder" inducting a group of Indians into the Midewiwin mysteries with the group either perched precariously on Barton Rock or surrounding it in knee deep water.

To support the false dichotomy between boundary markers and "teaching rocks", Weeks also constructs two arbitrary classes of rock carvings, with either low or high physical and "contextual" visibility, the few "anomalies"

being explained away by various other assumptions, such as the belief that carvings subsequently obscured by high water or vegetation must necessarily have been deliberately located with this end in mind, thus ignoring the possibility that the petroglyph makers might have been totally unconcerned with the future of their carvings, that the importance may have simply been the act of creating the carving. There is a too facile assumption that every petroglyph was designed as a monument or shrine for posterity, whereas their purpose may have been much more immediate, individual, and ephemeral, despite what seems a laborious process of creation to the modern viewer. Weeks also tacitly assumes that all carvings on a particular panel are contemporaneous, carved by the same person or persons at the same time, with the same purpose in mind. Stylistic attributes — most notably line width — are assumed to entail a specific function and intent (greater visibility) when they may not.

Significantly, Weeks modifies Swauger's conclusions to fit his own preconception. It is exaggeration to write of Swauger's conclusion that the sites "likely pertained to the religious activities of an ancient Algonkian-speaking people" or his "theory of Monongahela rock-art being used to record and teach religious concepts" (Weeks 2002: 49, 57, 58), for this is not precisely what Swauger has written. While Swauger noted the similarity of some Ohio Valley petroglyph designs to those found on Ojibwa Midewiwin bark scrolls, he definitely did not conclude that petroglyph sites were used as "teaching rocks" or even offer such a hypothesis. In fact, he specifically notes that the Mide cult is probably of no great antiquity and has simply adopted earlier mnemonic symbols of wide-spread Algonkian usage. This occurred at a time when there was actually little contact between Algonkian speakers of the western Great Lakes area and the proto-Shawnee to whom Swauger attributes the Upper Ohio Valley petroglyphs (Swauger 1974: 111, 1978: 272). While Swauger recognized that "so many of the designs, particularly large and complicated designs are of mythical figures or figures known from birch-bark scrolls to be mystical personages that it is likely many of the carvers were shamans," he nowhere hypothesizes that these carvings were used specifically for instructional purposes (Swauger 1974: 112). Nor does he precisely define the term "shaman," writing only of the Midewiwin. It is true that in the 1972 Valcamonica symposium on prehistoric religion, Swauger does refer to an undetermined number of Upper Ohio Valley petroglyphs as "religious figures" and even states that "many of our petroglyph designs are ceremonial religious figures," but it is believed that this rare use of the term was designed to help his paper fit into the theme of the symposium rather than to explicate his thoughts on the original use of such petroglyphs (Swauger 1975: 484, 485). For whatever reason, Swauger has (almost religiously) avoided the term "religious," usually preferring such phrases as "mystic concepts," and we would suggest that it was just this implication of formal, religious training associated with the Midewiwin beliefs and ritual that he wished to avoid. Furthermore, Weeks (2002: 56) egregiously misquotes Swauger as perceiving an "early suite of religious concepts," a phrase nowhere found in Swauger's extensive writings. Week's citations of Swauger (1974: 111; 1976:466) refer instead only to "a set of mystic concepts," "an older set of spiritual concepts," and "ancient symbolism," which "did not develop [into] the Midewiwin ritual" in Monongahela (Swauger 1976: 467). Nor should it be overlooked that by subtly revising Swauger's interpretation of the Ohio rock art designs into this "'early suite of religious concepts' common to the ancestors of [all] modern, central Algonkian-speaking groups" and then casually noting that "contemporary Ojibway extend the term 'Anishinaubae to ancestral as well as modern-day peoples," Weeks (2002: 57) not so subtly initiates an argument that might allow modern-day Anishinaubae to claim Ohio Valley petroglyphs as religious artifacts. We suggest that, subconsciously or otherwise, this may be a strong motivation in Weeks' effort to explain Upper Ohio Valley rock carvings as "teaching rocks."

In recent years, in part as a reaction to New Age attempts to appropriate their beliefs, Native Americans and even some anthropologists have objected to the use of the terms "shaman" and "shamanism" beyond the area of Siberia where the practice was first described, so that however seemingly useful to non-native anthropologists, the terms are now not only somewhat politically incorrect but often unacceptably vague. Respected anthropologists (e.g., Kehoe 2000) have strong reservations about extending the concept of Siberian Shamanism to non-Siberian cultures, although the concept has proven useful when carefully applied by Vastokas and Vastokas, and others who take pains to define what they mean by shamanism. Taçon (1983) has gone so far as to make the simple but useful distinction between "shamanist" and "shamanistic." Our use of such terms in the present paper embraces Kehoe's caution and the refinement of Vastokas and Vastokas and others (e.g., Whitley 1994, Schaafsma 1994), although we are limited by the small available sample when compared to the Peterborough, Ontario, site or the rock art of the Western United States. We view the only comparable term suggested by Weeks, "Elder," as problematic because it implicitly limits the role to one of teaching and ignores other functions such as healing, auguring, and vision quests and also largely ignores the relationship of the individual to magic, "power," and the "other."

We have given only cursory attention to the Barton Rock petroglyphs in terms of the entoptic, neuropsychological models now widely utilized in the Western United States and elsewhere throughout the world (Whitley 1994, Greer and Greer 2003), partly due to the dearth of phosphene-type geometric design elements at Barton Rock and partly to reservations about the applicability of the method to rock art.

Mention should be made here of Conway's (1993) self-described "tour" of North American rock art sites, as he wholeheartedly adopts a shamanic approach to rock art, based largely upon his extensive familiarity with Algonkian and Western North American sites as well as contact with modern "shamans." Rather than "teaching rocks," Conway would call North American rock art "dream rocks," the rich complexities of which he regards as "tribal voices that provide living links to the past." Allowing that North American rock art varies from region to region, he recognizes an underlying current that connects "not only all North American tribes but all indigenous nations across the globe," a "universal language and imagery of shamanism and personal spirituality." Turning his attention inward, he discovers "an archetypal common ground. The soul speaks in the language of images and symbols" (Ibid: 18). We view Conway's work as a highly romanticized, New Age (pictographs are "supernatural touchstones, like faceted crystals") presentation of the more spectacular pictograph sites and the very antithesis of Kehoe's approach. He does, however, distinguish between the Ojibwa Midewiwin–"traditional shamanism verging on becoming a more organized priesthood–the Muskiki-Innini, or herbal healers; the often malevolent Wabeno; and the Djiski-Inninik [Jessakkids], characterized by the production of x-ray rock drawings. Conway also notes that at different times, various types of shamans might visit the same rock art site, producing a confusing palimpsest for the archaeologist (Ibid.: 60). He concludes that the majority of Algonkian rock art sites served as vision quest locations (Ibid.: 106).

In his introduction, Conway speaks of his boyhood wandering "through the deep river valleys and hemlock-darkened hollows of western Pennsylvania," terrain not completely unfamiliar to us. There he felt "the lingering presence of long-vanished tribes ... present in the carvings that covered the walls of abandoned rockshelters" and also tangible along "the banks of the Clarion and Allegheny rivers, where seasonally flooded rock slabs glowed with the power of carved panthers and other ancient dreams" (Conway 1993: 13). Reduced to "the dry words of science," as

Conway puts it, we point out that Carnegie Museum's extensive inventory of western Pennsylvania rock art sites has produced only one panther along the banks of the Clarion and Allegheny rivers (Parker's Landing) and only one rockshelter containing a total of ten petroglyph designs (Rainbow Rocks). This romantic exaggeration, we feel, is emblematic of Conway's entire opus. Conway, incidentally, attributes this western Pennsylvania rock art to "a Pennsylvania area tribe we now call the Monangahela [*sic*] people, probably *cousins* to the Shawnee [italics added]."

In contrast to Weeks, Vastokas and Vastokas (1973) in their thorough and careful study of the Peterborough, Ontario, petroglyphs and the relationship between these rock carvings and the Midewiwin bark scroll ideographs have, following Schoolcraft, clearly delineated three distinct metaphysical approaches or attitudes among the Algonkian peoples. Following Levi-Strauss, Vastokas, and Vastokas take care to distinguish between totemism, a system of names having a collective, primarily social value, and an individual's personal relationship with a guardian spirit, though both may be represented by real or imagined animals. Totem is an Ojibwa term and refers to a system of names and emblems which serve to provide members of a family or clan with a readily identifiable, symbolic bond (Ibid.: 34). The guardian spirit concept, on the other hand, is directly connected with *Manitou* or spirit and signifies an individual's quest for making contact with and gaining access to the spiritual power and latent energy of the world, often resulting in a conscious, time-consuming quest by the individual, in isolation from others, for a psychic experience, intense religious experience, or vision. Among the Algonkians, such individual vision quests were sometimes provided with an artistic outlet, and the guardian spirits as well as the inherited, totemic symbols, might be given pictorial form (Ibid.: 35). In addition, some individuals acquired extraordinary ecstatic powers and exceptional spirit-helpers, and were often believed to have become Manitou-like if not in fact an actual *Manitou*, absorbing the qualities of the spirit aides. Among these "spiritual specialists" were the Jessakkids, who could see into the future, usually for a fee; they formed no group among themselves, practiced alone, and were directly assisted by the Turtle and Thunderbird *manitous* (Ibid.: 36). The Wabenos also practiced alone and specialized in the use of medicinal herbs and potions in hunting and love magic. According to Schoolcraft, they were often feared as sorcerers and could inflict harm. Finally, there were the Mides, a high structured organization known as the Midewiwin, a group that specialized in curing the sick and also served as a culturally recognized institution for the preservation of traditional Ojibwa lore and beliefs. Given these distinctive names, we see little reason to refer to these individuals, other than generically, as "shamans."

As an organized hierarchy of priests, the Midewiwin was functionally transitional between the individualistic "spiritual specialists" of most hunting bands and the organized, community-oriented and publicly recognized priesthood of agricultural communities (Ibid.: 37). The few ethnographic accounts available for the Ohio Valley region do not indicate the presence of such a "publicly recognized priesthood." An additional important point noted by Vastokas and Vastokas is that the Midewiwin appears to be a relatively recent, possibly even post-contact development, not known or practiced among the majority of Canadian Algonkians and first noted in ethnohistoric; sources only in 1709-1710 (Ibid.: 38). Hickerson goes even further and concludes that the Midewiwin was not even an aboriginal institution but a reaction to contact with Europeans (Hickerson 1970: 54, 57, 63). More recently, Rajnovich suggests that the Midewiwin dates much further back, and claims that most archaeologists agree with this contention. Elsewhere (Rajnovich 1994: 18), however, she qualifies this as "aspects of the Midewiwin" and she also carefully distinguishes between the Jessakkids, Wabenos, and Mides. Although familiar with the work of Schoolcraft, Hoffmann, and Vastokas and Vastokas, Weeks chooses to consider only the Midewiwin as responsible for rock art, very possibly because only the Midewiwin took upon themselves the formal function of teaching. (He also ignores Rajnovich's (1994:19) observation that children are generally trained by a parent on how to discover a personal Manitou and proceed on the vision quest, which would hardly qualify as shamanism though it would be teaching, albeit without any resultant rock carving being a "teaching rock.") Alleged teaching rocks, in other words, need not presuppose a formal Midewiwin teacher, and the rock carvings or pictographs were more likely a part of the individual ritual, not a blackboard illustration used in a Midewiwin lecture (cf. Arsenault 2004: 301).

Vastokas and Vastokas make the reasonable suggestion that some identical pictographs may have had either a strictly secular significance — clan totems rendered by hunters to mark game trails and water routes — or sacred spirit-images used to record shamanistic visions. Some of the latter may very likely have been derived from a generally known pictographic system later adapted to a hieratic organization with esoteric lore acquired only under instruction (Vastokas and Vastokas 1973: 45). Such an evolutionary hypothesis is in accord with the evidence that the Midewiwin Society as we know it is a relatively recent development, so that while present-day Indians may think they can interpret ancient pictographs according to their own lights, there is no guarantee that they are doing so in accord with the original intent of the pictographs' makers. Rajnovich (1994: 110-11) mentions an incident preserved in the Jesuit *Relations*: when a group of Nippissing Ojibwas first saw a picture of the Holy Spirit represented as a dove in a church at Quebec City, they immediately misidentified the dove as a thunderbird. This should serve as an object lesson to all modern interpreters of pictographs, including Native Americans.

Signatures and Boundary Markers

George (1994) proposed that some petroglyph sites, notably Indian God Rock, Venango, Co., Pennsylvania, may have served as a boundary marker between Algonkian and Iroquoian territory. That historic Indians did embellish boundary marks with engraved symbols is evident from work by Edward J. Lenik, who describes several Historic Indian survey markers in New York (Lenik 2002: 168-17 1), but these are Historic markers, after the Indians had adopted or accepted European concepts of land ownership. While George interpreted two apparent representations of the bow and arrow on Indian God Rock as "symbols of war" (it would seem just as likely that such symbols might represent the act of hunting), this symbol was used as a signature or totem by several Historic Indians, notably Ansantawae, Montowese, and Caunannicus, all Algonkian leaders of Connecticut and Rhode Island (De Forest 1851: 494)). Furthermore, numerous examples of Indian signatures consisting of the representation of turtles, birds and other animals are recorded, including several "x-ray" drawings. The use of such signs as signatures for Indian leaders or for the people they represent does nothing to mitigate George's argument, which is further buttressed, as Weeks admits, by the physical prominence of Indian God Rock as well as the fact that early explorer Celoron de Bienville chose this locale as one in which to deposit one of his lead plates in 1749, thus attesting to its suitability for placing a boundary marker. But the concept of land ownership in prehistoric times is a complicated one, the most basic question being whether Indians actually recognized and marked land boundaries in the EuroAmerican fashion, whether they indicated ownership by markings constructed within the territory, or whether they bothered doing either.

The salient point is that there are multiple possible explanations for the existence of a particular rock carving or even group of carvings, including that they are simply signatures or totem-like symbols not necessarily containing or conveying any spiritual or religious meaning and not intended to be Mide-like "teaching rocks." As true of Peterborough, Ohio

Valley petroglyphs "cannot be read like Mide bark records," for the glyphs are not mnemonic devices for narration of Midewiwin songs or myths and do not "tell a story" (Vastokas and Vastokas 1973: 46). Rajnovich (1994) would disagree, making a concerted argument that the Midewiwin song scrolls are not a Contact phenomenon but date far back into prehistory, but even she allows for multiple usages and interpretations of these Algonkian symbols (1994:112). She does not restrict their usage to the Midewiwin and even allows for secular uses, although she views the sacred picture writing as more prevalent and interprets it as the result of vision quests to obtain medicine.

Closer to home than the Canadian Shield, there are numerous early records of Indian designs incised or painted on trees, the purpose of which was quite clear and was neither shamanistic nor pedagogical (Coy 2004). Explorer Christopher Gist, for example, mentions a large warriors' camp in what is now Wise County, Virginia, "their Captain's Name or Title was the Crane, as I knew by his Picture painted on a Tree" (Darlington 1893: 61). Darlington explains, "A common practice among the Indian tribes, with war parties at a distance from home, was to paint on trees or a rock figures of warriors, prisoners, animals, etc., as intelligible to other Indians as a printed handbill among whites" (Ibid.: 134).

The direct relationship of petroglyph sites to prehistoric trails and landmarks has long been documented, While the precise location of any trails in the immediate vicinity of the Barton petroglyph site remains unknown, the likelihood that Barton Rock did serve as a landmark is certainly enhanced by its location in the middle of a canoeable stream. Although by no means conspicuous in the landscape, Barton Rock is distinctive, unique, and recognizable, by no means obscure or hidden. Both George and Weeks ignore the possibility that petroglyphs may have been used to enhance natural landmarks as signposts or elements in cognitive maps. Rather than boundary markers, they might have demarcated paths, stream crossings, distances, resting spots, or hunting areas, among other possibilities.

Comments on Weeks' "Contextually and Physically Visible" Rock Art Attributes

Following the lead of his thesis advisor (Carr 1995), Weeks interprets various, somewhat self-evident, stylistic parameters as indicative of the degree to which the petroglyph creators wanted to enhance or decrease the visibility of their work. Distinguishing between "contextually visible" and "physically visible" attributes, Weeks maintains, for example, that a flat (horizontal) panel has less contextual visibility than a parietal (vertical) surface and that a panel covered by sediment, water, or organic material has less visibility than one that is uncovered. But while such conclusions are intuitively obvious, Weeks then makes the further assumption that flat surfaces were deliberately selected to decrease the visibility of the rock carvings and that for the same reason the carvings were deliberately covered or placed in a location where they were naturally covered and thus hidden from all but the cognoscenti. We see no particular justification for directly relating such conditions to such a motive and feel that it might be said Weeks' theory of "contextual visibility" capsizes on Barton Rock. Similarly, Weeks postulates that open-air panel locations have more contextual visibility than that of a panel in a "small rockshelter," increasing the likelihood that the former (unless artificially or naturally covered) would be more susceptible to discovery. Yet this ignores the fact that even small rockshelters are in themselves often more visible than open-air panels and might serve as the location for rock-carvings because such shelters are more conspicuous and relatively easy to find; "context," in other words, cannot be restricted to whether a petroglyph site is parietal or flat. And, in fact, on the Barton petroglyph, both types of surflice are utilized for rock carvings.

As for Weeks' physically visible attributes, the size and number of designs on a given panel may well depend upon the amount of space available, so that visibility may have less to do with the final result than with the number of designs the prehistoric artist wishes to create or record. The amount of time and effort required to carve a particular petroglyph may be another factor that impacts design size as well as the number of designs, assuming that all or most were carved by the same person or persons at approximately the same time, an assumption that certainly cannot be made when faced with a relatively large number of rock carvings at a single locality.

Finally, Weeks' argument that groove width is a direct reflection of the artist's desire to increase visibility of the design seems dubious. At the very least, the *depth* of the grooves would seem just as important or more important in terms of physical visibility, for it would influence the strength of the shadows formed by the incised lines more than would line width. It is believed that in this particular argument, if not elsewhere, Weeks conflates style with function in order to support his case. Certainly he uses counting and measuring to provide a scientific or rational aura to buttress his *a priori* belief that rock carvings in the Upper Ohio Valley were used as "teaching rocks."

How does the Barton petroglyph site fit into the scheme devised by Weeks? The locale clearly is lowland and open-air but is unique in that it occurs on a large boulder located in a stream as opposed to lying along a stream bank. Ecological arguments about lowland settings affording longer growing seasons, easily cultivated soil for intensive maize agriculture, and numerous aquatic resources, versus the access to nut masts, large mammals, and land for swidden farming upland areas become exceedingly moot. The petroglyph consists of both parietal and flat panels and is covered only by the very highest of Wheeling Creek floodwaters, so that any argument that its location or surface aspect was chosen to limit the visibility of the rock carvings is undercut by the rather conspicuous location of the rock and the utilization of both flat and vertical or slanted suffaces. Not nearly as large as most "standing stones," the Barton rock might still have served as a trail marker [e.g., 'cross the stream here'] or as a signal to canoeists [e.g., 'leave the stream at this point']. Or it might convey the information that there is a village nearby. (Keringer in fact has found Late Woodland/Late Prehistoric triangular points a short distance downstream from the petroglyphs, at the head of Wetzel's Flat.) These are alternative possibilities that should be considered. Its isolated position in midstream would also render it ideal as a suitable retreat for an individual's vision quest.

Comparison with Other Ohio Valley Petroglyph Sites

The Barton Rock carvings have little in common with those at the nearest major petroglyph site, the Barnesville Track Rocks, an upland site dominated by bird and animal tracks. The dominance of turtle and bird figures at Barton relates it to other riverine sites, particularly those along the Ohio River, such as Babbs Island, Browns Island, and Smiths Ferry (Swauger 1974), and the more elaborate birds and mammals, as well as the turtles, might be lost among the designs at these Upper Ohio Valley sites.

Absent from the Barton Site, however, are any human or animal figures that incorporate any clearly mythical or mystical elements, rendering it more likely that the carvings are simply totemic or individual signatures or the result of one or more individual's vision quests. Several designs include x-ray drawings, spirit bands, or power projections also found on Mide bark scrolls but this is not in itself sufficient evidence that they are religious symbols identical to those found on the Midewiwin scrolls or were produced by the Mide. Nor are there any complex animal/human amalgams suggestive of Manitou or spiritual specialists. Although the frequency of thunderbird and turtle designs suggest that these manitous were important at the site on one or more occasions, they might be the result of individual vision quests or even totemic or personal markers.

The most intriguing evidence that any of the carvings might represent the work of "spirit specialists" is the apparent spa-

tial relationship between two of the thunderbirds with turtle designs. Perhaps these do reflect the *manitous* of an Algonkian Jessakkid, although that fact would by no means render the Barton petroglyph site a "teaching rock." It is unfortunate that while Swauger and earlier workers were able to preserve the turtle and thunderbird designs found at other Upper Ohio Valley rock art sites, the spatial relationship between the designs appears not to have been recorded.

Conclusions

We believe that Swauger's assessment is essentially correct, that the Upper Ohio Valley petroglyphs represent Monongahela and/or proto-Shawnee Algonkian (Anishinaubae, if you will) carvings that may have had different functions, by no means solely or even primarily for traditional religious or moral instruction. They were made by an unknown number of individuals at different intervals over a considerable period of time, but all are believed to be Late Prehistoric in age and not directly related to Midewiwin instruction. Weeks' argument that the rock carvings were deliberately designed to be inconspicuous or hidden seems to be based on subjective and debatable criteria which certainly do not apply to the place of Barton Rock in the local landscape, and his case is not strengthened by the hermetic (perhaps we should say "herm*emic*") pronouncement that he could explain the "meaning of the designs" if he so chose but prefers not to out of sensitivity to Anishinaubae concerns, an argument that rings hollow particularly when contrasted with Conway's apparent success in obtaining ethnographic information from living Ojibwa "shamans" (Weeks 2002: 87). We are more inclined to accept the conclusion of Vastokas and Vastokas (1973: 4 1) that, "Since most rock art in North America is prehistoric, exact and definite explanations have disappeared with the creators," a sentiment with which the late James Swauger was certainly in accord. Regardless of the antiquity of the Midewiwin, if living native oral traditionalists have whispered some arcane religious explanation of these carvings to Weeks, he is probably justified in keeping it to himself, such smug silence, however, scarcely contributes to his authority in the matter of their interpretation. Reason and logic suggest that the Barton Rock petroglyphs are the result of individual vision quests, the carving of individual totems or signatures, sympathetic magic related to hunting, or other efforts of the individual imagination rather than the result of Midewiwin didacticism.

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Figure 3. (Murphy, DaRe, Davenport & Keringer) Diagram by Gary Davenport showing the relative positions and locations of the Barton Rock carvings.

Figure 4. (Murphy, DaRe, Davenport & Keringer) Designs 1, 22 (not chalked), 23, 24 (partially chalked), 25, and 26 (not chalked).

Figure 5. (Murphy, DaRe, Davenport & Keringer) Designs 1, 22-26. Twelve inch scale.

Figure 6. (Murphy, DaRe, Davenport & Keringer) Isolated turtle carving, Design 26, on flat bedding plane near west edge of Barton Rock. Design 23 in lower left comer of photograph.

Figure 7. (Murphy, DaRe, Davenport & Keringer) Designs 2-6. Design 3 clearly represents a snake and Design 6 is the most elaborate "thunderbird" at the site. Design 4 may represent a shamanistic figure.

Figure 8. (Murphy, DaRe, Davenport & Keringer) Possible x-ray "thunderbird (Design 6) and designs 5, 7-9, and portion of Design 10. Designs 7 and 9 may represent uncoiled snakes but such an identification is tenuous.

Figure 9. (Murphy, DaRe, Davenport & Keringer) "Thunderbird" (Design 6) showing that the apparent circular "x-ray" may be due to rock spalling.

Figure 10. (Murphy, DaRe, Davenport & Keringer) Designs 27 (upper left), 5-7, and 10. Figures 8 and 9 not chalked.

Figure 11. (Murphy, DaRe, Davenport & Keringer) Figures 11 - 13 on a separate vertical panel. Twelve inch scale.

Figure 12. Two bird-like designs (14, 15), a turtle (17) and human stick figure (18). Figure 15 appears to be an x-ray drawing. Rectangular design, cupules and semi-circles are ambiguous.

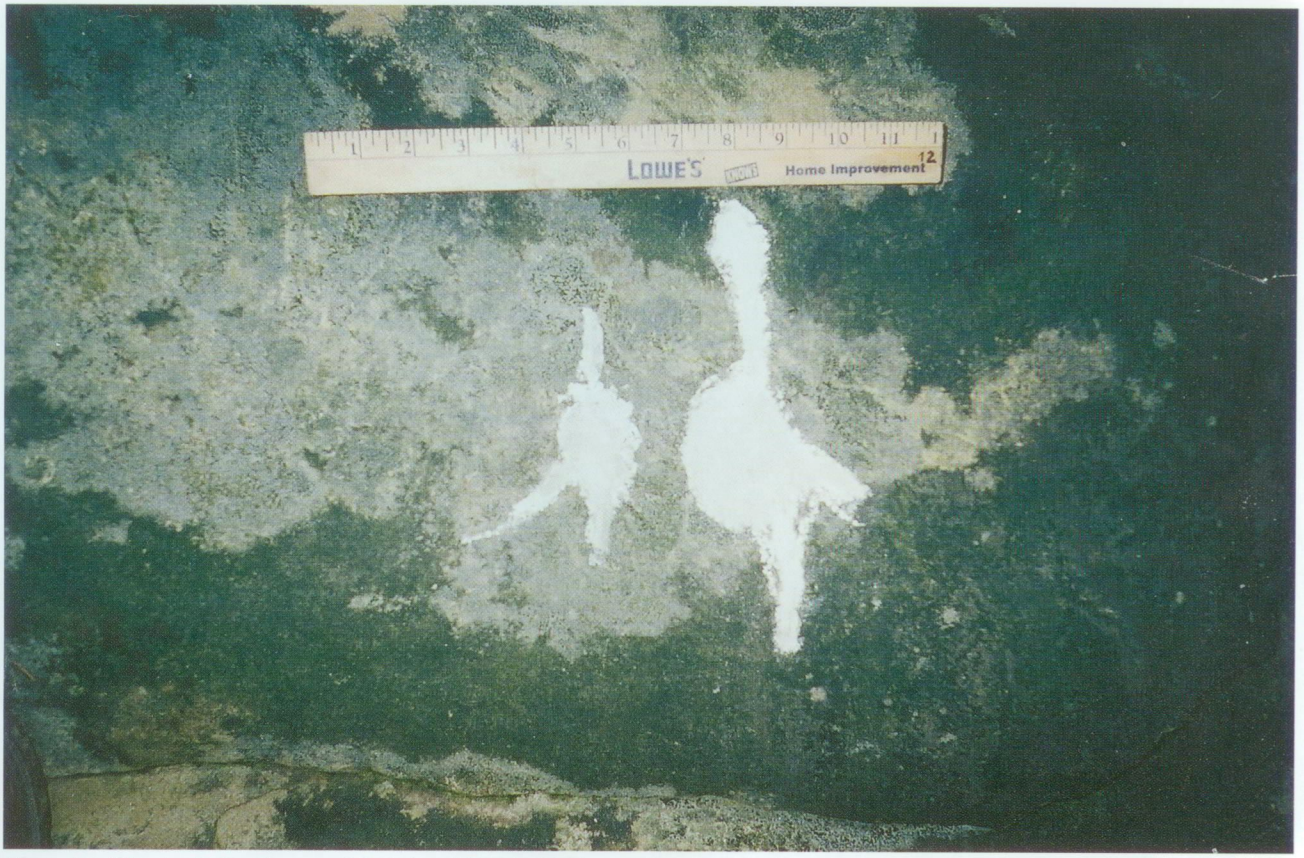

Figure 13. (Murphy, DaRe, Davenport & Keringer) Two isolated amorphous figures (19, 20), subhuman or superhuman depending upon your interpretation. Twelve inch scale. Design 14 is very similar to figures at the Peterborough, Ontario, petroglyph site.

Figure 14. (Murphy, DaRe, Davenport & Keringer) Bird figure (21) at west edge of Barton Rock. X-ray drawing with spirit bands.

Figure 15. (Murphy, DaRe, Davenport & Keringer) Coiled serpent motif (Design 27) and semi-circle and cupule on apex of Barton Rock.

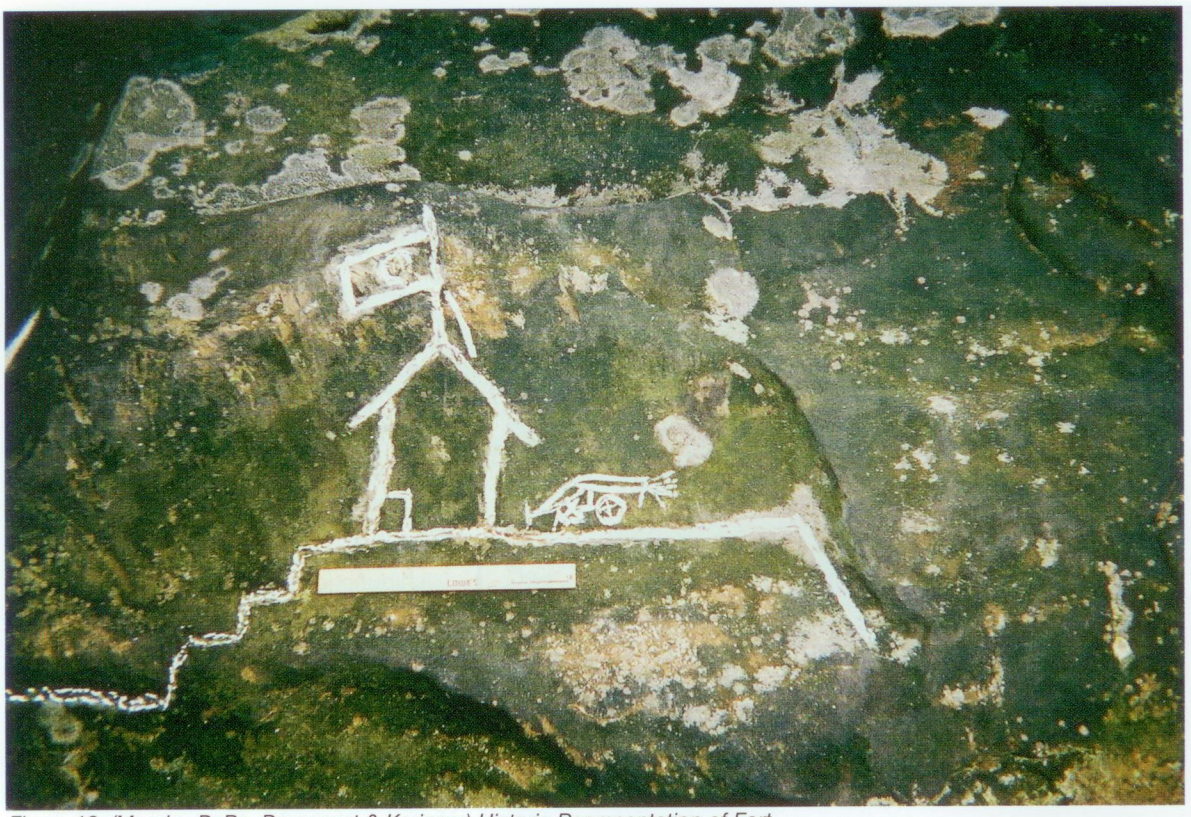

Figure 16. (Murphy, DaRe, Davenport & Keringer) Historic Representation of Fort and Cannon at South End of Barton Rock.

Figure 18. (Murphy, DaRe, Davenport & Keringer)

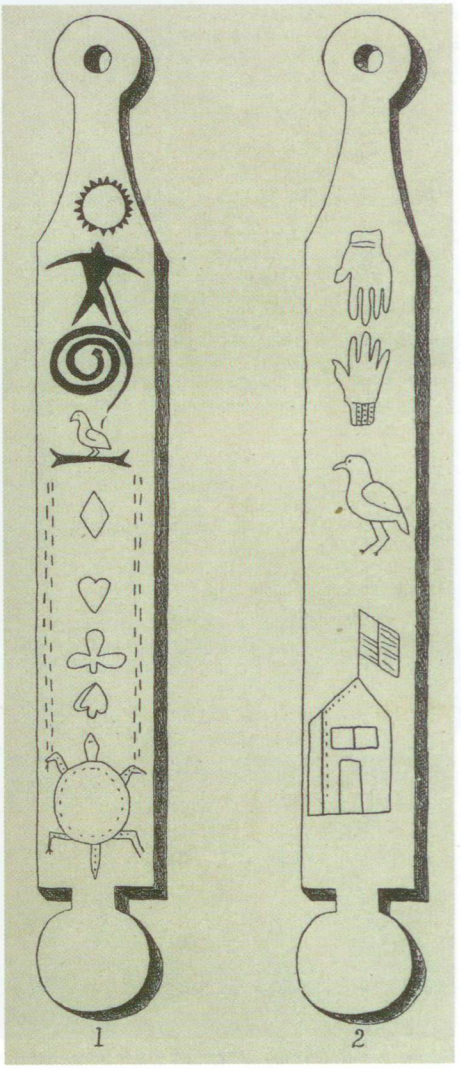

Figure 17. (Murphy, DaRe, Davenport & Keringer) Leech Lake "Prayer Stick" Incorporating European Elements (Diamond, Heart, Club, and Spade) and House with "Medicine Pole." From Hoffman (1891).